

EMPLOYERS MAKING FABULOUS PROFITS

It has become almost a fashion now among a section of so-called intellectuals to complain that in our country workers are not putting in due labour necessary for economic growth and development of India, that labour cost is constantly on the increase as a result of which not only profits and profitability ratios of industries are falling but also prices are rising. In the past, we proved the falsity of these charges. In view of fresh attacks by bourgeois apologists, we intend to meet these charges with new set of incontrovertible official figures. We are taking the help of official figures, not because we have any special liking for them but because we will not have to face the allegation that our figures are manufactured.

The Reserve Bank of India, in its Bulletin for April 1972, has published the results of a study conducted by it about performance in 1969-70 of 1501 selected medium and large non-financial, nongovernment public limited companies, each with paid-up capital of Rs 5 lakhs and above. The study reveals that, *firstly*, in 1969-70 the overall rate of growth in the value of production of these 1501 companies at 11.3 per cent was higher than the corresponding rate at 8.6 per cent in the preceding year. Compared to 1965-66, value of production raised by 44.8 per cent in 1969-70. No sane man can deny that this increase in the value of production mainly due to increase in production has become possible for harder and more labour by our working class. This fact demolishes the contention of bourgeois agents that workers in our country are idle and do not give due labour for production. *Secondly*, the study also reveals that the increase in profits before tax was remarkable, the percentage rise in profits before tax being as high as 30.1 in 1969-70 compared to corresponding percentage rise at 1.3 only in 1968-69. As a result of substantial increase in profits, the profitability ratios were higher in 1969-70 than in the preceding year. The ratio of profits after tax to net worth improved from 6.8 per cent in 1968-69 to 9.3 per cent in 1969-70. These facts prove that the allegation made by bourgeois apologists that profits and profitability ratios of industries in our country are declining is false. The study *thirdly* reveals that the 1501 companies retained

in business 41.6 per cent of their profits after tax in 1969-70 as against 25.7 per cent the year before. *Fourthly*, whereas in 1969-70 the rate of dividend paid to share-holders was 9.2 per cent, it was 8.5 per cent in 1968-69. *Fifthly*, the rate of inventory accumulation rose to 7.8 per cent in 1969-70 from 2.3 per cent in the previous year. *Sixthly* gross and net rates of capital formation improved to 7.8 percent and 5.5 percent respectively in 1969-70 from 5.9 per cent and 3.8 per cent respectively in the preceding year. These facts establish the incorrectness of the allegation by bourgeois apologists that due to non-remunerative character of labour, capital formation is not taking place; on the contrary, due to loss of companies capital is draining out. The study *lastly* reveals that the companies relied more on internal sources than on external borrowings, the share of internal sources of fund in the total sources improving from 50 per cent in 1968-69 to 55 per cent in 1969-70. All these facts conclusively prove that the companies achieved overall improvement in 1969-70 over the previous year. Since then the position has become still better. In a separate article published in this issue showing profits made by several companies we have shown it.

It goes without saying that this study of the performance of 1501 companies by the Reserve Bank of India is based on audited balance sheets of these companies for the corresponding years. Anyone having some knowledge about company affairs knows very

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Falsehood Thy Name Is Congress

Moving the demand for grant for industrial and economic development of the state, the West Bengal Commerce and Industry Minister, Mr. Tarun Kanti Ghosh, on the floor of the Legislative Assembly made the allegation that as many as 924 industrial units had been closed down during the U F regime as a result of which 1,87,000 workers lost their employment. He at the same time claimed that his Government had re-opened 453 units enabling 1,50,000 workers to get back their employment. This speech of his got wide publicity in all the newspapers in West Bengal. We shall presently show that this gentleman had shamelessly indulged in palpable falsehood. By the way, what were CPI MLA's doings when the Minister was slandering the UF Ministry in West Bengal which included the CPI also? This slander against the UF Ministry in West Bengal was a slander against them also and at least some of them should have given a fitting reply to the Minister's false statements. May be, we are expecting too much from the CPI. If it is so then we simply pity them.

Let us now examine the truth or otherwise of the statement by the Commerce and Industry Minister that during the UF regime 924 industrial units closed down in West Bengal. We like to refer to official figures only otherwise our figures may be called in question. We refer the Minister to what the State Finance Minister, Mr. Sankar Ghosh, had said in this regard in his budget statement placed before the Legislative Assembly on 25th March, 1972. The relevant portion runs as follows: "In 1966 the number of industrial units that closed down was 34, in 1967 the figure was 123, in 1968 the number was 139, in 1969 the figure was 188, in 1970 it rose to 320 and in 1971 it came down to 137." (Page 4 of the printed statement in English). Thus,

according to the State Finance Minister, during 6 years from 1966 to 1971, in all 941 industrial units were closed down by the management in West Bengal. But the UF was not in governmental power for the entire period of these 6 years. In two terms the total period of UF rule in West Bengal was for about 22 months; the first for about 9 months from March to November, 1967 and the second for about 13 months from March, 1969 to March, 1970. The remaining 4 years 2 months saw one year's Congress rule in 1966, about 3 months' rule by PDF of Dr. Profulla Chandra Ghosh from the third week of November, 1967 to February, 1968, another 3 months' rule by Congress Democratic

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CPI Accuses Congress of Carrying On

New Age, Central Organ of the Communist Party of India, in its issue dated 9th July, 1972, informed the people of "the increasing bonds of unity between the " CPI and the ruling Congress "both within the Assembly as well as outside" in West Bengal and castigated "the motivated circle which has been inventing a rift in recent weeks within the PDA."

To us, to invent a rift where there is really no rift tantamounts to *canard* which we hate very much. We feel that in the interest of clean politics, establishment of democratic norms of behaviour for political parties is essentially necessary. Without democratic norms of behaviour, left democratic unity cannot be maintained and united democratic movements properly developed. It is for this reason that our Party, in spite of opposition, sarcastic remarks and bantering by many left and democratic parties, has been all through vigorously fighting for the acceptance of a code of conduct to serve as a guideline for the left democratic parties to govern mutual relationship among themselves as also their political behaviour in regard to united democratic mass movements and the people. Unfortunately many a left democratic party of our country, in the name of tactics, takes recourse to slander, falsehood, *canard* against not only their political opponents but also their fraternal parties, other constituents of the united front of which the former is also a constituent. This unprincipled outlook and activity had disrupted in the past the unity of united front in West Bengal and soured mutual relationship between different left democratic parties. This cannot be denied.

Hence, we do not propose to invent rift between the CPI and the ruling Congress in West Bengal. Rather, we think that since these two parties are constituents of the Progressive Democratic Alliance, it is only natural for them that they should try to strengthen the "bonds of

unity between the two parties both within the Assembly as well as outside" as put by **New Age**. This, of course, does not mean that the unity between the CPI and the ruling Congress has been a correct political decision and, so, the unity should be strengthened. On the contrary, we are of considered view that the decision of the CPI to unite with the ruling Congress has been most incorrect. It has weakened the cause of real left democratic unity. This unity is definitely working against genuine interests of the people and their legitimate democratic movements. It has in fact turned out to be the spearhead of mounting fascistic attacks on workers, landless, poor and lower middle peasants, teachers, students, youths and members of the general public. We hope that the CPI will not dispute our right to hold this view, even though they may not subscribe to it.

This is to clarify our attitude, to drive home the point that we are dead against any attempt to put in one's mouth what one has not actually said. One purpose here is to seek some clarifications from the CPI and to request them to give some serious thoughts over what we state hereinafter. The CPI cannot deny that the PDA is the political combination that should provide guidance to the present Government in West Bengal. That is at least the formal position. Whether that is reality or not is a different proposition. If that is not the reality then the Alliance between the CPI and ruling Congress is no real alliance which presupposes equality of status

and equal rights of different constituents of the Alliance in so far as formulation of policies, programmes, plans, etc. is concerned. If that is not the reality within the PDA then the position of the CPI in relation to the ruling Congress becomes more or less like that of a vassal whose only function is to rubber-stamp whatever the senior partner in the PDA decides. But if the PDA is really an Alliance, as the CPI claims, then the PDA and for that matter, one of its constituents, namely, the CPI is accountable to the people for the policies, programmes, plans and activities of the present West Bengal Government.

This brings us to the question of performance of the present Government in West Bengal since its installation in office in March, 1972. It is an undeniable fact that during the last four and a half month's rule by the ruling Congress Government there has been large-scale eviction of bargadars from the land they have been cultivating for decades by jotedars backed by Congress hoodlums and the police, with the Government taking no action to stop this illegal eviction of bargadars. Congress and CPI MLA's inside the Assembly have brought this charge against the Government. The **Kalantar** (dated 1st July, 1972), Bengali Organ of the CPI, made a pungent short editorial comment also in this connection. By not taking any action against this large-scale eviction of bargadars by jotedars backed by Congress hoodlums and the police, the West Bengal Government is in fact, abetting the illegal acts by jotedars and the police. The charge of abetment against the Government is confirmed by its un-written permission to its police force to help

jotedars. Can a government that does it be characterized as progressive or democratic? Is not the CPI, a constituent of the PDA, accountable to the people of West Bengal for this activity of the State Government whom they by their support are helping to remain in power and carry on anti-bargadar illegal acts? It may be argued that CPI MLA's criticised this action of the Government. Very true. But Congress MLA's also criticised their own Government perhaps more strongly than CPI MLA's. As criticism by Congress MLA's does not absolve the Congress of the unlawful anti-bargadar activities by their supporters and workers and their Government so also the CPI cannot be absolved of their offence when they are in the PDA and supporting the Government.

Then again, the present Government in West Bengal by the West Bengal Land Reforms (Second Amendment) Bill, 1972 has doubled the rate of land revenue in non-irrigated areas and trebled it in irrigated areas for lower middle peasant families with holdings from 3 to 7 acres but has halved the rate in non-irrigated areas and reduced the rate to three-fourths in irrigated areas for jotedar families with holdings above 20 acres, compared to the rates of land revenue statutorily fixed by the United Front Government in 1969. Can a Government that does it be called a progressive or democratic government? Can the CPI claim that they are not to be blamed for this legislative measure to increasingly fleece lower middle peasants in order to fatten jotedars brought into being by the present ruling Congress Government when the CPI supports this Government and their MLA's cast

Attacks On Democratic Movements

their votes for this pro-jotedar piece of legislation?

When the Chief Minister of West Bengal at the meeting of the Development Council at New Delhi nakedly held brief for the big monopoly Houses by pleading that these Houses should be allowed to expand their empire and no restriction on such expansion should be imposed, when the Commerce and Industry Minister of West Bengal admonishes the CPI for expressing doubts about the desirability of his industrial policies which aim at achieving coalescence of foreign imperialist finance capital, Indian monopoly capital and Indian medium and small capital (vide main leader in **Kalantar** dated 8th July, 1972), when the Government is actually giving concessions to monopolists, can such a Government be characterized as progressive or democratic? When the CPI, notwithstanding verbal criticism, ultimately supports this Government and their MLA's vote for such pro-monopoly, industrial policies of the Government, do they not also become guilty of pro-monopoly stand?

The present ruling Congress has kept living the black Maintenance of Public Order Act on the strength of which the police can do almost anything and everything under the sun, including killing people with impunity, a law brought into being under President's rule. It has applied Rule 119 of the Defence of India Rules on three thousand workers of Indian Oxygen. **Kalantar**, Bengali Organ of the CPI, in the main editorial (issue dated 3rd July, 1972) comments: "It is to be noted that during the President's rule the British monopolist employers could not get this Rule enforced on workers in spite of their best efforts. Even during the Indo-Pak War this Rule was not en-

forced. But now...enforcement of Rule 119 of the Defence of India Rules against workers and employees of the Indian Oxygen is not only a surprising violation of democracy but a planned attack on trade union rights." It further comments: "In whose interests is this Rule being applied? Minister of State for Labour, Shri Pradip Bhattacharya, has said to the Union Secretary that the Defence of India Rules are being enforced to stop strike by workers. For this reason we say that what is being applied today against Indian Oxygen workers will be applied tomorrow against strikes by workers of other industries." To break strikes by workers, the Defence of India Rules can be applied but for not depositing Provident Fund contributions to the tune of Rs. 3 crores 86 lakhs 64 thousands (vide **Ananda Bazar Patrika** dated 15th July, 1972) the Defence of India Rules cannot be applied by the Government against the unscrupulous employers who have misappropriated this huge amount of workers. Can a Government that uses the most draconian Defence of India Rules against workers but refuses to use the Rules against unscrupulous employers guilty of continuously violating labour laws be called progressive or democratic? In spite of such naked pro-employer anti-labour activities by the Government, the CPI is supporting it. How do they defend their role after such surrender to the Congress?

Fascistic attacks on left democratic forces and democratic movements are being mounted by the ruling Congress and its Government. Even the CPI has not been able to deny the truth of it. When CPI unions also were not spared from this fascistic attacks, the Executive Committee of the West

Bengal State Council of the CPI in a resolution, *inter alia*, observed as follows: "The Executive Committee notes with concern that, taking advantage of the massive victory of the PDA and the Congress party, different factions within the Congress, in the name of the Congress and their mass organisations are very often adopting methods of threat, terror and violence with the backing of the police and a section of bureaucracy for the purpose of capturing unions of other parties, forming parallel unions and disrupting the unity of workers, as a result of which various types of clashes are occurring in different industrial areas." (vide **Kalantar** dated 8th June, 1972). This relatively mild criticism of the Congress by the CPI was soon followed by a stronger criticism. **Kalantar** dated 9th June, 1972 in its main leader writes: "Police attacks against democratic movements are being mounted afresh in favour of vested interests. The promise given to the people that old cases against them would be withdrawn has not at all been implemented. On the top of it, every day new cases are being instituted against the poor, resulting in tremendous harassment, severe monetary burden and irreparable loss of time of theirs." It may be argued by the CPI that these observations were made by the party before the joint meeting of CPI and ruling Congress leaders on 21st June last "to work out the guidelines for the Progressive Democratic Alliance", in the words of the **New Age**. This excuse may be advanced but this is an absolutely lame excuse. It does not stand at all. For, in **Kalantar** dated 8th July, 1972 an article by veteran CPI leader, Shri Panchu Gopal Bhaduri entitled, "Will You Desist From Capitalist Bureaucratic

Degradation?" has been published. In this article Shri Bhaduri has compared West Bengal Chief Minister to King Canute, characterized his recent decision to give more powers to District Magistrates as a road to Hell full of good intentions, sarcastically asked how many anti-social elements have been detained under the MISA by the Government and concluded by stating: "We have formed an Alliance with the Naba Congress in West Bengal. We are their friends. We want to co-operate with them in all respects to faithfully implement the mandate of the people expressed in the election based on 17-point programme. We have all through kept our hands of co-operation extended to them. Innumerable common men of West Bengal anxiously ask—breaking of unions, attacks by jotedars, establishment of one-party power with the backing of bureaucrats, are they not still going on in the same way as the CPI (M) did two to three years back? With the capture of the fort through election battle will there be *Khel Khatam Paisa Hazam* (the sense is—after the trouble is over forget the benefactor—Editor, P.E.)? ** We request Siddharta Babu that he should move cautiously and listen to the advice of friends, within the Alliance at least on serious matters."

In this article Sri Panchu-gopal Bhaduri has brought about the serious charge against the ruling party and their Government in West Bengal that with the backing of the administration and the police the ruling Congress party is breaking the unions controlled by other parties, jotedars are conducting attacks on bargadars and poor peasants and the Congress is utilizing the administration and the police for their

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Palpable Falsehood Practised By Congress Minister

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Coalition from March, 1971 and the rest 2 years 8 months of President's rule. It is an undeniable fact that the rule by the PDF of Dr. Profulla Chandra Ghosh as also that by the Congress Democratic Coalition were Congress rule proper. And President's rule is rule by Central Government which in the material period was all through a Congress government. Thus, the entire period of 4 years 2 months, out of 6 years, was under Congress rule. So, it is false to say that the 941 industrial units, which closed down in 6 years from 1966 to 1971 in West Bengal, were closed during the UF regime.

It would have been better, if the State Finance Minister had given break-up figures of closed industrial units in West Bengal in his budget statement to fix up responsibility of the UFGovernments. He had not given any such figure. But the figures are there in the office of the Labour Commissioner, West Bengal. As far as can be gathered, during the entire period of 22 months of UF rule in the state about 160 industrial units closed down. It means that during the said 4 years 2 months of *de jure* and *de facto* Congress rule 781 industrial units closed down in West Bengal. Now you see, Mr Commerce and Industry Minister of West Bengal, the ball is in your court and not in the court of the UF. The Commerce and Industry Minister claims himself to be a devout Vaishnab and also a true disciple of Gandhiji, the motto of his life, according to him, being, to speak the truth and nothing but truth. We are not concerned with his private faith or belief or whatever that may be. But as a Minister he is accountable to the people and we have every right to criticise his public behaviour. It is our definite charge that the Commerce and Industry Minister of West Bengal had misinformed the Legislative

Assembly and the people outside by saying that 924 industrial units closed down in West Bengal during the UF regime, knowing fully well that this statement of his was false. This is no doubt an unashamed practice of falsehood. If ministers behave in this way, as it is the case now moral degradation cannot but pervade our national life.

For closure of industrial units in West Bengal both the Finance Minister and the Commerce and Industry Minister of West Bengal hold the UF policies, gheraos and other labour troubles responsible. Well gentlemen, if these were responsible for closure of so many industrial units then why did 34 industrial units close down in West Bengal in 1966 (Finance Minister's admission in his budget statement) when there was unadulterated Congress rule in the state? If UF policies were to blame for closure of industrial units then why did 457 industrial units close down in West Bengal in 1970 and 1971 (Finance Minister admits it in his budget statement) when the state was under President's rule which is a rule by the Central Government which at that particular period was a ruling Congress Government? If for closure of industrial units UF policies were to be condemned then why during the months of March, April and May, 1972 did 65 industrial units close down in West Bengal (State Labour Minister's answer to a question on 6th July last on the floor of the Assembly published in the *Satyayug* next day) when the present ruling Congress Government is in power? If for closure of industrial units the villain of the piece is UF policies why on earth did 2061 industrial units remain closed as on 31st March, 1971 in different states of India excluding West Bengal (Union Labour Minister's figure)? If UF policies are

responsible for closure of industrial units then why thousands and thousands of such units are being closed in the USA, Great Britain, France, Japan, West Germany and all other capitalist countries of the world?

It is not UF policies or gheraos and labour troubles that are mainly responsible for closure of industries. Gheraos and labour troubles account for 8 per cent of the total number of closure according to a survey made by the FICCI, an organisation of monopolists who have naturally a bias against trade union movement in our country. Besides, read what Dr. Bhabotosh Dutta, an eminent economist of our country, has to say in this regard. In the second annual re-union meeting of the Calcutta University 1948 Economics Group held on 8th July last he said: "the real reason behind the closure of a number of factories in the country was not labour trouble or financial bottleneck but mis-management." (*Hindusthan Standard* dated 9th July, 1972). Dr. Dutta has no axe to grind in this matter. He is a pro-Establishment man holding till the other day high position under the State Government. In the circumstances, his view on closure of industrial units has little chance of being influenced by pro-labour or anti-employer bias. Furthermore, may we request the Commerce and Industry Minister to recall his own observations sometime back? Did he not then hold step-motherly attitude of the Centre responsible for closure of industrial units and absence of proper climate for investment in West Bengal? Is it because that the Congress High Command at New Delhi has given him a good thrashing for this plain speaking which has made his position in the West Bengal Ministry insecure that he is trying to shift his position

and swallow his earlier remarks?

It should be realized that the present capitalist economy of our country is fundamentally responsible for all these economic ills including closure of thousands of industrial units. Besides this, there are other individual factors which are responsible for closure of industrial units here. They are, among others, shortage of raw materials, paucity of working capital, bad management, differences and quarrel among directors and partners themselves, insatiable greed of the management to earn super-profits by creating artificial scarcity of goods through closure of industries, management's attempts to evade payment of taxes due from them, cheat share-holders and misappropriate Provident Fund, ESI and other contributions made by workers by closing down industries, etc. So, it is absolutely incorrect to say that closure of industrial units in West Bengal is due to UF policies, gheraos and labour troubles as the Finance Minister and the Industry Minister have unsuccessfully tried to make out.

The next claim by the Commerce and Industry Minister is that the present ruling Congress Government in West Bengal has re-opened 453 factories and re-employed 1,50,000 persons. Let us see what the State Finance Minister has to say about it. He is reported to have said that "the Government had already spent a large amount of money to re-open *some* (emphasis ours—Editor, P.E.) of the sick and closed industries. As a result, about 60,000 workers have been re-employed in those industries." (*Statesman* dated 6th July, 1972). The matter of closed industrial units and consequent loss of employment of workers comes under the purview of the Labour

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More Than 71,000 Workers Lose Employment In Three Months of Congress Rule In West Bengal

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Department. So, let us see what the State Labour Minister says in this regard. In moving the demand for grants for his Department for acceptance by the Legislative Assembly, he is reported to have said that "after the new Ministry took office in March, 1972, 25 temporarily closed units employing 10,681 workers were re-opened and there were still 188 temporarily closed industrial units in the State. Besides these, there were 302 permanently closed units in West Bengal." (Statesman 11th July, 1972) The Labour Minister has no earthly reason to minimize the performance of his Government. Besides, it is Labour Department that deals with closed industrial units and involuntarily unemployed workers. Hence, the figures given by him has better chance of being nearer to truth.

What then do we see? The three Ministers are giving three different figures about industrial units re-opened by this Government. The Commerce and Industry Minister claims that his Government has re-opened 453 closed industrial units. The Finance Minister says that this Government has re-opened "some of the sick and closed industries." The term "some" used by him certainly cannot mean so big a figure as 453 used by the Commerce and Industry Minister. The Labour Minister says that this Government has re-opened only 25 temporarily closed, i.e., locked-out industrial units. It has not been possible for this Government to re-open any really closed, i.e., permanently closed unit. Now about the number of workers re-employed for the re-opening of closed industrial units. The Commerce and Industry Minister claims that this

Government has re-employed 1,50,000 workers. The Finance Minister's figure is 60,000. And the Labour Minister says that re-employed workers number 10,681. Now it is for the people to judge for themselves how faithful to truth is our devout Vaishnab and true Gandhite Commerce and Industry Minister is.

Now let us draw up a balance sheet of the achievement of the present ruling Congress Ministry in West Bengal about employment. It will not be a cent per cent correct balance sheet. For, all the figures are not available. But nevertheless you may very well call it a trial balance sheet which gives a fair indication of the actual position. On the credit side of this balance sheet is the number of 10,681 workers claimed by the Labour Minister to have been re-employed by the present ruling Government in West Bengal since it took office in March, 1972. On the debit side come 55,000 workers of 65 industrial units temporarily and permanently closed during March, April and May, 1972 (vide Labour Minister's answer to a question in Assembly published in the *Satyayug* dated 7th July, 1972) plus 12,000 employees of camps for Bangladesh evacuees plus about 2,500 census workers, plus 2000 NVF men, the total being 71,500 workers and employees all of whom have lost their employment during the last four and a half months' rule by the present ruling Congress Government. In short, during the present ruling Congress rule there has been re-employment of 10,681 as against loss of employment of 71,500 workers and employees. The balance sheet, therefore, shows a very bad negative balance of about 61,000 unemployed persons.

By The Way

Marx in his *On Hegel's Philosophy Of Law* observed: "Religion is the sigh of the hard-pressed creature, the sentiment of a heartless world, as it is the soul of soulless circumstances. *It is the opium of the people.*" It is incumbent on real communists not to be an addict to this opium. But newspaper reports have it that some delegates to the ninth Congress of the CPI(M) at Madurai "took advantage of a brief respite at the Congress on July 2 last to worship at the temple of goddess Meenakshi, still wearing their red scarves and party badges." One should not be shocked at this behaviour of the CPI(M) delegates. For, this is no new phenomenon. CPI(M) workers and supporters had in the past been seen to worship goddess Durga and goddess Kali with *eclat* in West Bengal. If they could worship Durga or Kali, they can very well offer prayer to Meenakshi also. This is the barometer for measuring the cultural standard of CPI(M) workers and the importance the party attaches to the questions of imbibing the ranks of the party and the people with proletarian culture. If you are interested in this measurement, read the barometer and note the reading carefully so as not to be misled by communist jargons and phraseology of the parties going by the name communist in our country.

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Statesman (dated July 6, 1972) reported: "...what is worrying the authorities is the prevalence of factionalism among Congressmen in different districts as also trade union rivalry in the industrial belt of Barrackpore and the Asansol-Durgapur complex. The intra-party quarrel has sometimes led to feuds culminating in clashes" leading to blood-shed, broken limbs and murder of opponents and innocent common men. This is an euphemistic way of describing the dog-fight that is going on between different groups within the ruling Congress and its youth and student wings. Be that as it may, what are the authorities doing, other than just expressing worries, to stop open violation of law by Congress workers? There are certainly legal provisions to appropriately deal with cases of murder, physical assault, threat, intimidation, extortion of money, arson, etc. now being indulged in by Congress hoodlums. The long arm of law does not reach them because of their being members of the ruling party. This is the new brand of the Rule of Law imported by the ruling Congress and its Government in West Bengal. You should not blame the police for their sage-like indifference to these mundane affairs of cognizable offences committed by the *chelas* of big *dadas*. For, when there are many gods, it is not prudent to worship some and neglect others. Who knows the neglected ragged colts will not make good horses in the Writers' Buildings sometimes later?

So, you detect the whole game? The Congress Ministers in West Bengal, true disciples of Hitler's Propaganda Minister, Mr. Goebbels, as they are, believe that there is nothing called falsehood. For, people ultimately take falsehood as truth if the falsehood is repeated for a pretty long time. That is why they are deliberately dishing out false figures, false hopes, false

reports, etc. to the people. But they should also know that you can befool all persons for some time or some persons for all time but you cannot befool all persons for all time. Falsehood is sure to be detected when the people will give a fitting reply to those whose stock in trade is falsehood. That fate awaits the ruling Congress. There is no doubt about it.

Will CPI Ranks Ponder ?

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sectarian party interests and to establish the power of the ruling Congress alone. Are not these charges very serious? Do not these acts by the Congress amount to butchery of democracy? Is it not a symptom of administrative fascism practised by the ruling Congress and its Government in the state? Can any honest and democratically-minded person call the party and the Government which indulge in such fascistic methods progressive or democratic? By supporting such a party and such a Government is not the CPI helping the advance of fascism in our country?

The PDA is the political combination that is guiding the State Government. One of the constituents of the PDA rather the dominating constituent whose decision on every question becomes the decision of PDA, is the ruling Congress which is doing all they can do to smother democracy and establish the power of Congress and Congress alone in West Bengal. The CPI may have differences with many of the policies, programmes, plans and activities of the ruling Congress party, the PDA and the present Government in the state. But such differences have little practical meaning, inasmuch as, even in spite of such differences, CPI MLA's cannot call a division in the Assembly on any issue nor can the CPI launch any movement against the Congress on any issue. The CPI has to support whatever measures the ruling Congress and its Government take, even though the ruling Congress and the Government, do not care to consult with the CPI and listen to their advice even on serious matters. If this is not behaving as a vassal what then it is?

CPI leaders contend that for strengthening the unity of the PDA mutual consultations and discussions between

the two constituents of the Alliance, namely the CPI and the ruling Congress, are necessary. But when the fact is that the unity itself is working as the spearhead of mounting attacks on workers, landless, poor and lower middle peasants, teachers, students, youths and various other sections of common men is it not betraying the people when that unity is sought to be strengthened? The sooner such a unity breaks, the better for the people and united democratic mass movements. Besides, what should be the purpose of consultations, discussions and even criticism by the CPI? The purpose should not be anything except making the Congress and the State Government revise their anti-people undemocratic stands and accept pro-people policies, programmes, plans and measures. If that cannot be done, if consultations, discussions and criticism fail to make the ruling Congress and the Government forsake their anti-people, pro-monopoly, pro-jotedar and fascistic stand, if discussions, consultations and criticism, in the final analysis, objectively mean acceptance by the CPI of whatever the ruling Congress decides, notwithstanding verbal opposition by the CPI, does it make any sense to be in the Alliance tied to the apron-string of the ruling Congress, ultimately say ditto to whatever the Congress decides and work as accomplice of the ruling Congress and the State Government in their crusade against the people? Can any really left democratic party behave in this way? It cannot. But because of their central policy of anyhow maintaining unity with the Congress the CPI in West Bengal has to keep the PDA alive and maintain unity with the Congress, no matter even if it means abject surrender to the Congress. But when the Congress does not spare even the CPI from attacks

Peasants and Agricultural Labourers Condemn Enhancement of Canal Tax

Jagdishpur, July 10—A public meeting was organised here today by the Sahabad Arrah unit of the SUCI and attended by a large number of peasants, agricultural labourers and members of general public. Among those who addressed the meeting were Comrades Rekha Sinha, Shaikat Ali, Nawal Chowdhury and Guptaeswar Lal Srivastava. The meeting was presided over by Com. Jagannath Misra.

The speakers strongly condemned the Bihar Government's decision to enhance the canal tax without

making any attempt to improve agriculture and the condition of poor and middle peasants. They illustrated how under the ruling Congress regime the rich are becoming richer and the poor poorer under the smoke-screen of the 'garibi hatao' slogan. The speakers demanded reduction of the canal tax and work for unemployed persons throughout the year. From the meeting a call to help the SUCI, the only real revolutionary working class party in our country, by all means and strengthen it was given.

the latter cannot but criticise the Congress. This is the reality, whether CPI leadership admits it or not.

One elderly politician once said, when our country was under British imperialist rule, that the Indian Civil Service was neither Indian, nor Civil nor Service. Considering its anti-people role and boss-like behaviour of the Congress towards the CPI, one may be tempted to similarly comment that the Progressive Democratic Alliance is neither Progressive, nor Democratic, nor Alliance. One cannot but really feel sorry for the CPI for the humiliating treatment they are getting from their "friend" the ruling Congress. Sri Bhaduri's article provides an inkling of such treatment by the ruling Congress. Of course, there is nothing surprising in this behaviour of the ruling Congress towards the CPI. A party that can induct the administrative, police and election machinery to entirely rig the last general election in West Bengal and smother democracy so as to **any how** procure victory in elections and come to governmental power, (Shri Bhaduri fails to notice this reality and

wrongly thinks that real mandate of the people of West Bengal found expression in the victory of the ruling Congress in the last general election in West Bengal), feels no compunction to treat another constituent of the PDA with utter disregard and humiliation. Famous Bengali *litterateur*, D. L. Roy, wrote in one of his plays "there cannot be any friendship between one's back and the shoe." In case any such 'friendship' even develops anywhere, the inevitable outcome is a few slashes by the shoe on the back. In the so-called Alliance between the CPI and the ruling Congress, the former occupies the position of the 'back' referred to above. Anyway, if any of our remarks wounds the CPI workers and supporters, we are really sorry for that. We do not mean to wound them. All that we want is that they should realize that the so-called Alliance between the CPI and the ruling Congress in West Bengal is doing the greatest harm to left democratic unity, united democratic mass movements and genuine cause of the people of the state. It is high time for them to turn back from the road to Hell.

WORKERS' WORK-LOAD RISING REAL WAGE FALLING

(Contd. from Page 1)

well that audited blance sheets of companies hardly reflect true state of affairs of the companies concerned. Window-dressing is an open secret in so far as preparation of balance sheets of companies by audit firms is concerned. The purpose of it is mainly to suppress the real incomes of the management, evade payment of taxes, etc. The presence of crores and crores of rupees as black money in the possession of industrial magnates, the monopolists, despite audit by audit firms of the accounts of the companies controlled by them by itself is a proof of the undependable character of audited balance sheets of companies. If even according to such undependable balance sheets prepared to conceal the true state of affairs of the companies in favour of monopolists and other capitalists the companies show so much overall improvement, one can very well guess how many times better the actual condition of these 1501 companies is.

The Reserve Bank of India, for obvious reason, has presented one side of the picture, the side of the companies. It has not shown the other side of the picture, the side of workers of these 1501 companies. Let us do it. The study made by the Bank, as stated earlier reveals that the value of production of these companies increased by 11.3 per cent in 1969-70, compared to the preceding year. Since this was due to more and harder labour by workers, they could legitimately claim a corresponding rise in labour cost. But what do we see? In 1968-69 the total labour cost (salary, wages, bonus, Provident Fund contribution and all other expenses for welfare of employees made by the said companies) amounted to Rs. 886.17 crores which rose to Rs. 958.10 crores in 1969-70.

Here the rate of increase is 8.1 per cent. In other words, Labour cost increased by 8.1 per cent as against 11.3 per cent increase in value of production in the corresponding period. So, labour cost is not increasing, as bourgeois apologists complain, it is *relatively* decreasing. We should approach the issue from another angle. In 1968-69, labour's share in total expenditure of these 1501 companies was 14.7 per cent which came down to 14.2 per cent in 1969-70. In plain language, it means that workers are being more exploited, they are being paid less *relatively*, let alone paying them more. These facts demolish the assertion by bourgeois apologists that labourers are being paid more as a result of which labour cost is constantly rising. The reality is just the reverse. Work-load on workers is increasing but their real wages are falling—a fact which the National Commission on Labour even could not but admit. And this Commission by many of its recommendations has established itself not so much as a pro-labour body as a pro-employer one.

Now about the last point. It is a blatant lie to say that because of more wages paid to workers, prices are rising. This is a hackneyed argument of vested interests everywhere in the world. We have already shown that our workers, are not being paid more. On the contrary, they are being paid less *relatively*, resulting in fall in their real income, though monetary wages might have increased to some extent. Then again, it should be realized that it is not increase in wages that raises prices. It is rather just the way round; prices rise first then wages follow prices at a distance. It is because of this simple truth that the more the prices rise, the

more is the gap between prices and wages and the more real wages of workers decline. This is what takes place in every capitalist country. Ours is a capitalist country; it is taking place here also.

According to the Reserve Bank of India, with Base 1961-62=100, the general price level on 25th March this year was 192.2 point. The **Hindusthan Standard** (dated 11th July last) reports that in mid-June it touched 199.3 and "by now it must have crossed 200." Despite tall promises by Congress Ministers at the Centre to check rise in prices, price-level shows no sign of coming down. It cannot come down so long as the cause for ever-rising prices will not be removed. It cannot be denied that economic, monetary, fiscal policies of the Government coupled with price-manipulation by monopolists and speculators are mainly responsible for the continuous increase in price level in our country. Unbridled deficit financing, unbelievably high rate of indirect taxes, like Excise Duties, on essential commodities, anti-people credit policy enabling monopolists and speculators to get huge amount of loans and advances from banks so that they can stock and corner goods and, last but not least, refusal to introduce all-out state-trading in essential commodities thereby giving the monopolists, speculators, hoarders and black marketeers a free hand to

hoard goods, create their artificial scarcity in the market, manipulate their prices in order to reap maximum profit are pushing the price level up continuously. And for all this Mrs. Gandhi's Government is only to blame.

It is common knowledge that it is the poor and lower middle class people who become the worst victims of price rises. Any one seriously concerned about the welfare of the people cannot but try his or her best to control prices. But what do we find here? On the one hand, Congress leaders and ministers are rending the sky with the slogan of 'garibi hatao' (wipe out poverty) and on the other hand nothing whatsoever is being actually done which can bring down prices and thereby give some relief to the poor and middle class people. The result is 22 crores of our people in our country are living below poverty level and cannot provide even one meal a day and not a square meal but just anything, be it stale or unfit for human consumption, which can at least partially fill their stomachs. This is the position even after twenty-five years since independence of our country. It is Indira Gandhi's socialist pattern of society. Will you help this 'socialist' regime to consolidate and further strengthen it, or, try to replace it by a better regime? Surely you want the latter. Then prepare yourselves for it by all means. That is a social necessity.

Queer Idea About Normalcy

West Bengal's Minister of State for Home (Police) during question hour told West Bengal Legislative Assembly on 14th July last that between 20th March and 26th June, 1972 two hundred and forty-four murders were committed in different districts in the State. Twenty-six of these murders were stated to be for political reasons. The Minister also stated that 4336 persons were detained under the MISA till 5th July last. Nevertheless, West Bengal's Chief Minister claims that normal democratic atmosphere has been fully restored in the State.

Paradise For Employers

In another article based on a study of performance in 1969-70 of 1501 selected medium and large non-financial non-government public limited companies by the Reserve Bank of India published elsewhere in this issue, we have shown how under the ruling Congress regime monopolists and other capitalists in our country are making fabulous profits and amassing huge property and wealth whereas workers are being increasingly exploited with their real earnings declining.

Here are some more recent figures. These figures will show how sales of products, gross profits and net profits of companies are further rising. The figures have been culled from several issues of the **Hindusthan Standard**. The figures within brackets are the corresponding figures for the preceding year. In the face of these figures, the slogan of 'garibi hatao' (wipe out poverty) advanced by the ruling Congress and their governments is nothing but bamboozle our people and win their support.

It is the duty of our people not to be influenced by such political gimmicks by the ruling Congress but to free themselves from all illusions about the Congress and prepare themselves for mass movements for the realisation of their democratic demand.

Indian Copper Corporation :

For the year ended December 31, 1971. Pre-tax Profit Rs. 9,85,728, i.e., about Rs. 1,82,35,968.

Larsen & Toubro :

For 1971-72. Sales and revenue Rs. 30'87 crores (Rs. 28.78 crores). Pre-tax Profit Rs. 2'72 crores. After-tax Profit Rs. 1'59 crores (Rs. 1'16 crores).

Tensile Steel :

For the year ended March 31, 1972. Sales Rs. 3'07 crores (Rs. 2'04 crores). Gross Profit Rs. 58'67 lakhs (Rs. 39'43 lakhs). Pre-tax Profit Rs. 47'54 lakhs (Rs. 33'36 lakhs).

Standard Batteries :

For the year ended June, 1971. Sales Rs. 6'14 crores (Rs. 5'41 crores). Gross Profit Rs. 29'45 lakhs (Rs. 25'63 lakhs). Net Profit Rs. 3'69 lakhs (Rs. 1'62 lakhs).

Tata Engineering & Locomotive Co.

For the year ended March 31, 1972. Sales Rs. 158'49 crores (Rs. 138'24 crores). Gross Profit Rs. 16'43 crores (Rs. 14'22 crores). Net Profit Rs. 4'56 crores (Rs. 4'03 crores).

Tata Oil Mills Co. Ltd :

For the year ended March 31, 1972. Sales Rs. 60'74 crores (Rs. 50'83 crores). Gross Profit Rs. 3'57 crores (Rs. 2'52 crores). Net Profit Rs. 1'15 crores (Rs. 0'83 crores).

Bajaj Electricals Ltd. :

For the year ended March 31, 1972. Sales Rs. 10'98 crores (8'80 crores). Gross Profit Rs. 68'25 lakhs (Rs. 51'32 lakhs). Net Profit Rs. 27'24 lakhs (Rs. 22'20 lakhs).

New Standard Engineering :

For the year ended March 31, 1972. Sales Rs. 4'89 crores (Rs. 4'15 crores). Gross Profit Rs. 42'07 lakhs (Rs. 37'48 lakhs). Net Profit Rs. 17'54 lakhs (Rs. 17'50 lakhs).

Mettur Chemicals :

For the year ended March 31, 1972. Sales Rs. 8 crores (Rs. 7'59 crores). Gross Profit Rs. 1'56 crores (Rs. 1'12 crores).

Hindustan Rectifiers :

For the year ended March 31, 1972. Sales Rs. 2'15 crores (Rs. 1'14 crores). Gross Profit Rs. 25'93 lakhs (Rs. 6'28 lakhs). Net Profit Rs. 8'03 lakhs (Rs. 35'30 thousands).

SLM-Maneklal Industries :

For the year ended March 31, 1972. Sales Rs. 2'45 crores (Rs. 2'14 crores). Gross Profit Rs. 63'68 lakhs (Rs. 55'12 lakhs). Net Profit Rs. 17'54 lakhs (Rs. 16'17 lakhs).

Godfrey Phillips India :

For the year ended March 31, 1971. Sales Rs. 38 crores (Rs. 30 crores). Pre-tax

DELHI DSO CONDEMNS SEAT REDUCTION

New Delhi, July 20—Delhi State Committee of the All India DSO has strongly condemned the reduction in the number of seats for admission of students in medical colleges under Delhi University in the face of increasing demand for admission and called upon the student community to foil this anti-people move by mobilising public opinion against it.

This year 580 students have passed in first division out of about 800 students who appeared in the pre-medical examination from different colleges under the university. But Delhi has only 250 seats in its medical colleges. When this situation demands increase in the number of seats by either raising the number of seats in existing medical colleges or setting up new medical colleges in order to cope with the problem of admission, the University medical college started last year has reduced its intake of students from 125 to 75, thereby further accentuating the problem.

It should be noted that the 800 students who sat for the pre-medical examination had high first division marks in the higher secondary exami-

nation and could very well take up B.Sc pass or honours course, had they not been admitted in the pre-medical course. Now what will the 550 students do who cannot be admitted in the medical colleges because of lack of sufficient number of seats? They are to discontinue their studies or join the first year class afresh in B.Sc pass or honours course, provided that there also seats are available. This means loss of one year and huge energy for the students, apart from their mental set back and frustration, and wastage of substantial amount of money for their guardians, most of whom are not so much well off. No doubt, Delhi University is guilty of criminal apathy for the student community.

SAME OFFENCE

The Planning Minister, Mr. Subramaniam and the Steel Minister, Mr. Kumaramangalam at the meeting of the ruling Congress Working Committee at New Delhi on July 7 last complained that "in every sphere—be it the field of labour, student, peasantry or the general constituency—the DMK wants to establish its hegemony and smash the other political parties." (**Hindusthan Standard** dated July 8, 1972). In the opinion of these two ruling Congress stalwarts, this behaviour of the DMK is most undemocratic and condemnable. There cannot be two opinions about that. But is not the ruling Congress guilty of the same offence in West Bengal? Is not the ruling Congress backed by the administration and the police equally engaged, if not more, in smashing other political parties and their mass organisations of labourers, students, peasants, youths, etc. in West Bengal? The saucepan should not call the kettle black. If the ruling Congress had been politically honest, it would have abandoned the present gestapo tactics it has adopted in trying to liquidate left democratic parties in West Bengal before accusing the DMK of undemocratic behaviour.

Profit Rs. 1'49 crores (Rs. 1'25 crores). Net Profit Rs. 50'61 lakhs (Rs. 45'78 lakhs).

British India Corporation :

For the year ended March 13, 1971. Sales Rs. 10'90 crores (Rs. 11'34 crores). Net Profit Rs. 1'17 crores (Rs. 1'02 crores).

Hindustan Gas & Industries :

For the year ended March 31, 1972. Sales Rs. 2'62 crores (Rs. 2'41 crores). Gross Profit Rs. 37'33 lakhs (Rs. 31'43 lakhs). Net Profit Rs. 16'99 lakhs (Rs. 3.54 lakhs).